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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

MOST REV. JAMES USSHER, D.D.,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY

CHARLES RICHARD ELRINGTON, D.D.,

LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,
AND RECTOR OF ARMAGH.

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. XVII.

DUBLIN:

HODGES, SMITH, AND CO.,

PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1864.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE unexpected death of Dr. Elrington, on the 18th of January, 1850, deprived the University of one of its brightest ornaments, and the Irish Church of its most learned theologian. His edition of Ussher's Works, upon which he had been labouring for upwards of twenty years, was unfortunately left by him unfinished, and the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College committed to me the task of completing it. Dr. Elrington had completed the first thirteen volumes, with 400 pages of the fourteenth volume, the progress of which was then interrupted[a]; but he proceeded with the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes, and finished them before his death. My first duty was, therefore, to endeavour to ascertain the nature of the difficulty which had caused the interruption of the fourteenth volume, and to complete that volume as well as I

[a] The fifteenth volume was issued with the following notice:—"The publication of the fourteenth volume is unavoidably postponed."

could, in accordance with the intentions of Dr. Elrington. Notwithstanding the intimacy with him which it was my privilege for many years to enjoy, he had never explained to me fully the reason which induced him to leave this volume unfinished, when he went on with the fifteenth and sixteenth. I believe now, that the great difficulty of deciphering the MS. destined to supply matter for the completion of the unfinished volume, was the principal cause why he suspended the printing. He had found it impossible, consistently with his other important avocations, to transcribe the MS. and prepare it for the press himself. He employed an amanuensis to make a transcript, but this turned out to be unsatisfactory.

There was also another cause of embarrassment, which Dr. Elrington felt more acutely, perhaps, than it was worth. He had intended the fourteenth volume to contain such remains as could be recovered of the Theological Lectures delivered by Ussher when Professor of Divinity in the University; and he had begun with the "Tractatus de Controversiis Pontificiis," written against Bellarmine, and never before printed. He had also partly put into type what now stands second in the fourteenth volume, viz., the "Catholica Assertio Integritatis Fontium Hebraico-

rum Veteris et Græcorum Novi Instrumenti," which formed the substance of the Theological Lectures, delivered in the year 1610. In addition to the embarrassments already alluded to, arising from the imperfect and confused state of the MS., Dr. Elrington now found that this second series of Lectures (in conformity with the chronological arrangement of the Works, which he had adopted) ought to have been placed before the "Tractatus de Controversiis Pontificiis;" and that a third series[b], dated 1607, ought to have preceded both.

Having thus discovered, as I believe, the real cause of the suspension which took place in the printing of the fourteenth volume, and of the difficulty which had so embarrassed Dr. Elrington, my next care was to ascertain what materials existed for completing the volume in accordance with his design. The following allusions to the intended contents of volume xiv., which are to be found in the Life of Ussher, will enable us to understand what that design was. Having mentioned that, immediately after taking his first degree in Divinity (1607), Ussher was appointed Professor of Theology in the University, Dr. Elrington proceeds[c]:—

[b] Printed, vol. xiv., p. 383.

[c] Vol. i., p. 26.

"He continued to deliver lectures during the following fourteen years, at first twice, afterwards once, in every week. His principal subject was an answer to the controversies of Bellarmine. Dr. Bernard says he read three volumes of these Lectures, and that it would be an honour to the University, where they were read, to have them published. There is only one volume now in existence, and it does not appear that the other two were ever deposited in the Library of Trinity College. The volume now in existence bears evidence of having been commenced with an intention of publishing the Lectures, but they are left unfinished in every part; I have, however, printed them in the fourteenth volume of the Archbishop's works, as much anxiety was expressed to have them made public. There is a great deal of information contained in them, imperfect as they are, and a remarkable display of logical acuteness in a contest with the most learned and able disputant of the Romish Church."

The statement made in this passage that only one MS. volume of Ussher's Lectures now exists, was afterwards ascertained by Dr. Elrington himself to be incorrect. The one volume[d] to which he alludes is that which contains the "Tractatus de Controversiis Pontificiis," published in the former half of the fourteenth volume of the Works. But two other MS. volumes[e], in the autograph of the Archbishop,

[d] Class D. 3. 19.

[e] Class D. 3. 22, 23.

containing the earlier Lectures, exist also in the Library of Trinity College. These volumes are lettered on the back "Usserius de Veteri et Novi Test.," but are numbered in a wrong order, that is to say, the Lectures delivered, or begun to be delivered, in 1610, occur in vol. i. (D. 3. 22.), and those delivered in 1607 in that which has been marked vol. ii. (D. 3. 23.) It is probable, therefore, that we still possess the *three* volumes alluded to by Bernard, and that all that can now be gathered from them, as capable of being published, is collected in the fourteenth volume. If Dr. Elrington had been aware of the existence of the earlier Lectures, before he had printed those which now stand first, there is no doubt that he would have arranged these fragments in an order the inverse of that in which they are now printed, viz.:— 1. "Prælectiones habitæ 1607" (vol. xiv., p. 383); 2. "Catholica Assertio Integritatis Fontium," 1610 (*ib.* p. 199); 3. "Tractatus de Controversiis Pontificiis" (*ib.* p. 1).

Another allusion to the intended contents of the fourteenth volume, which occurs in the Life of Ussher[f], need not be here quoted, as it adds nothing to the information given in the foregoing passage.

[f] Vol. i., p. 321.

It proves, however, that Dr. Elrington had not discovered the existence of the second collection of Lectures until after he had completed the first volume of the Works, containing Ussher's Life, which was issued in 1848.

Again, speaking of the Archbishop's sermons, and notes of sermons, Dr. Elrington says[g]:—

"The notes of three sermons are preserved in the Archbishop's handwriting, and are published in the fourteenth volume of his Works; from which it will appear what was his usual mode of preparation."

This statement caused me considerable embarrassment. I did not know what the sermon notes alluded to were, nor where they were to be found. Dr. Elrington had left no memorandum respecting them. I examined with care all his papers, which his executors had kindly placed in my hands, but without success. I searched also the Ussher MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, but in vain. At length, however, by a mere accident, I found, in this latter repository, what I believe to be the notes referred to by Dr. Elrington. They occur in the volume classed D. 3. 3., and are written in the Archbishop's well-known hand. There is also preceding them in the same volume another document, in the

[g] Vol. i., p. 315, note.

hand of an amanuensis, which is not a sermon, but apparently the substance of some speech or essay. It is not written, as the others are, upon a text of Scripture, but is entitled, "The causes of the continuance of the contentions concerning church governments." Nevertheless, as it has been corrected throughout, and references to passages of Scripture added in Ussher's hand, I thought it better not to separate it from the notes of sermons which follow it in the MS. on the same paper. Unfortunately I had not discovered these notes until after the fourteenth volume was completed, and therefore was unable to carry out Dr. Elrington's intention of publishing them there; but I have added them in the present volume, at the end of these remarks.

To return, however, to the Theological Lectures of the Archbishop. When I examined the MS. with a view to complete the unfinished volume, I met with the same difficulties which had so greatly embarrassed Dr. Elrington. I found it impossible, owing to the manner in which my time was occupied, to transcribe the fragments and fit them for publication myself; at length, after a considerable time spent in the attempt, I proposed to the Provost and Senior Fellows to allow me to employ

Dr. Reeves to execute this task, as well as to make a complete Index to the sixteen volumes of Ussher's Works. I knew well his indefatigable perseverance in any thing that he undertook, which, no less than his varied learning and ripe scholarship, admirably qualified him for the work. To my very great relief he consented to take the part assigned him ; and, with his accustomed disinterestedness in the cause of learning, consented to give his valuable time and labour for an amount of remuneration which proved that the honour of the University, and the fame of Ussher, were his principal motives for undertaking the task. Few of those who are unpractised in such work can fully estimate the great difficulties which attended the transcription of Ussher's rough notes, many of them written out of their proper order, and crowded into the margins, very often also so much abridged as to render their meaning unintelligible, except to the most skilful and practised scholar. In addition to this, Dr. Reeves undertook the compilation of the invaluable indexes printed in the present volume, which contribute so much to the practical utility of this edition of the collected works of our illustrious Primate. The tedious labour of correctly indexing such matter as these dense volumes contain, can

only be estimated by those who have attempted such a work; and in the present case Dr. Reeves, not content with his own carefully written manuscript of the Indices, undertook the additional labour of re-writing the Index of Authors, and revising the whole with great care as the proof sheets were passing through the press.

In justice to Dr. Reeves, I ought to mention also that the length of time occupied in his task was greater than it would otherwise have been, in consequence of a recent alteration in the statutes of the Library of Trinity College. When Dr. Elrington was engaged in the preparation for the press of Ussher's Works, it was allowable to lend the manuscripts; he was permitted to borrow and take to his home such MSS. as he had occasion for. But owing to the recent alteration alluded to, which absolutely prohibits the lending of MSS., this privilege was necessarily denied to Dr. Reeves. Resident in the country, he was compelled to labour at the transcription of the MSS. from time to time at intervals, devoting some hours to the work whenever he had occasion to visit Dublin, and frequently coming up to Dublin for the express purpose. It is easy to see what additional difficulties this circumstance must have created, and how

much it must have retarded the completion of his task.

The title-pages of the volumes, published at various intervals, all bear the date of the present year, in which the work has at length been completed. But it may be well to record here the exact dates at which the several volumes were at first issued :—

Vol. I., January 5, 1848.
Vol. II., November 7, 1829.
Vol. III., September 1, 1831.
Vol. IV., June 9, 1830.
Vol. V., October 16, 1830.
Vol. VI., October 30, 1831.
Vol. VII., June 14, 1832.
Vol. VIII., April 3, 1832.
Vol. IX., June 14, 1832.
Vol. X., October 13, 1832.
Vol. XI., August 1, 1832.
Vol. XII., December 12, 1833.
Vol. XIII., June 29, 1844.
Vol. XIV., May 17, 1862.
Vol. XV., May 18, 1834.
Vol. XVI., November 6, 1846.
Vol. XVII., April 25, 1864.

It will be seen from this list that the fourteenth volume was ready two years ago ; but the pub-

lication of it was withheld until it could appear together with this index-volume, which could not of course be finished until the Works were complete.

I may be allowed here to express some regret that the plan of issuing the volumes at different intervals was adopted. It greatly displeased Dr. Elrington, who submitted with reluctance to the arrangement. It is attended with this inconvenience, that it must necessarily cause many broken sets, and there will no doubt ultimately be left unsold a large number of odd volumes. All who are in possession of the incomplete work can now, however, have their sets made perfect on application to Messrs. Hodges, Smith, and Co., Publishers to the University, Dublin.

The total cost of this great work to the University, that is to say, of the printing and paper, exclusive of the payments made to transcribers, advertising, and other incidental expenses, amounts to the large sum of £3800.

JAMES H. TODD, D.D.,

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

Easter Eve, 1864.

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THE CAUSES

OF THE

CONTINUANCE OF CONTENTIONS

CONCERNING

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

NOTES OF THREE SERMONS.

THE CAUSES

OF THE

CONTINUANCE OF THE CONTENTIONS

CONCERNING

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

CONTENTION ariseth eyther through error in men's judgements or else disorder in their affections.

I. When contention doth grow by error in judgement, it ceaseth not till men by instruction come to see wherein they erre, and what it is that did deceive them; without this there is neyther notice nor punishment that can establish peace in the church.

The Moscovian Emperor, being wearie of the infinit strifes and contentions amongst preachers, and by their occasion amongst others, forbadd preaching utterly throughout all his dominions; and instead thereof commanded certain sermons of the Greeke and Latin Fathers to be translated, and them to be read in publique assemblies, without adding a word of their owne thereunto, upon paine of death. He thought by this politique devise to bring them to agreement, or att least to cover their disagreement. But so bad a policie was no fitt salve for so great a soare.

Wee may think, perhaps, that punishment would have been more effectuall to that purpose, for neither did Salomon[a] speake without booke in saying that when "follie is

[a] Prov. chap. 22. ver. 15.

bound up in the heart of a child, y^e^ rodd of correction must drive it out;" and experience doth shew y^t^, when error hath once disquieted the mindes of men and made them restles, if they doe not feare, they will terrifye. Neyther hath it repented y^e^ Church at any tyme to have used y^e^ rodd in moderate severitie for the speedier reclaiming of men from error, and the easier reuniting such as by schisme have sundred themselves. Butt wee find by triall, that, as being taught and not terrifyed, they shutt their eares against the word of trueth, and soothe themselves in that wherewith custom or sinister persuasion hath inured them; soe contrariewise, if they be terrifyed, and not taught, their punishment doth not commonly worke their amendment.

As Moses, therefore, soe likewyse Aaron; as Zerubabel, soe Jehoshua; as the prince which hath laboured by the scepter of righteousness and sword of justice to end strife, soe the Prophetts, which with the booke and doctrine of salvation have soundlie and wisely endeavoured to instruct the ignorant in those litigious points wherewith the Church is now troubled; whether by preaching, as Apollos amongst the Jewes, or by disputing, as Paul at Athens, or by writing, as the learned in their severall tymes and ages heretofore, or by conferring in synods and counsells, as Peter, James, and others at Jerusalem, or by any the like allowable and laudable meanes, their praise is worthily in the Gospell, and their portion in that promise which God hath made by his Prophet[b], "They that turn many unto righteousness shall shine as the starres for ever and ever." I say, whosoever have soundly and wisely endeavoured by these meanes to reclaime the ignorant from their error and to make peace.

Want of sound proceeding in Church controversies hath made many more stiffe in error now than before.

Want of wise and discreet dealing hath much hindered y^e^ peace of the Church. It maye be thought, and is, that Arius had never raised those tempestuous storms which wee read he did, if Alexander, the first that withstood the Arrian heresie, had borne himselfe with greater moderation

[b] Dan. chap. 12. ver. 3.

and bene less eger in so good a eause. Sulpitius Severus[c] doth note as mueh in the dealings of Idaeius against the favourers of Priscillian, when that heresie was but greene and new sprung up; for by overmueh vehemeneie against Instantius and his mates a sparke was made a flame, in so mueh that thereby the seditious waxed rather more fieree than lesse troublesome. In matters of so great moment, whereupon y^e^ peaee or disturbanee of y^e^ Church is knowen to depend, if there were in us that reverend eare which should be, it is not possible wee should eyther speake at any tyme without feare, or ever write but with a trembling hand. Doe they eonsider whereabout they goe, or what it is they have in hand, who, taking upon them the eause of God, deal onlye or cheifly against the persons of men?

Wee eannot altogether excuse ourselves in this respeet, whose home eontroversies and debates at this day, although I trust they be as the strife of Paul with Barnabas, and not with Elymas, yet because there is a trueth whieh, on the one side being unknown, hath caused eontention, I do wish it had pleased Almightie God that in sifting it out, those offences had not grown, which I had rather bewaile with seeret teares than publick speech.

Nevertheless some sort of people is reported to have bred a detestation of drunkeness in their ehildren by presenting the deformitie thereof in servants. So it may eome to pass (I wish it might) that wee, beholding more foule deformities in the faee and eountenanee of a eommon adversarie, shall be indueed to eorreet some smaller blemishes in our owne. Ye are not ignorant of the demands, motives, eensure, apologies, defences, and other writings whieh our great enemies have published under eolour of seeking peace, promising to bring nothing but reason and evident remonstranee of truth. But who seeth not how full gorged they are with virulent, slanderous, and immodest speeehes, tending much to the disgraee, to the disproof nothing, of that cause whieh they endeavour to overthrow? "Will you speak wickedly for God's defense?"

[c] [Sulp. Sever. Sacr. Hist. lib. ii., p. 447: Lugd. Bat. 1647.]

saith Job[d]: will you dipp your tongues in gall, and your pennes in blood, when yee write and speak in His cause? Is the truth confirmed, are men convicted of their errour, when they are upbrayded with the miseries of their condition and estate? when their understanding, witt, and knowledge is depressed? when suspitions are ruinous, without respect how true or how false, are objected to diminish their credit and estimation in the world? Is it likely that invectives, epigrammes, dialogues, epistles, libells, loden with contumelies, and criminations, should be the meanes to procure peace? Surely they which doe take this course, "the[e] way of peace they have not known." If they did but once enter into a staied consideration with themselves what they doe, noe doubt they would give over, and resolve with Job, Behold[f], I am vile; what shall I answer? I will lay my hand upon my mouth: if I have spoken once amisse, I shall speake no more; or if twice, I will proceed no further."

II. But how sober and how sound soever our proceeding be in these causes, all is in vaine which we doe to abate the errors of men, except their unrulie affections be bridled. Self love, vain glorie, impatience, pride, pertinacie, these are the ruine of our peace, and these are not conquered or cast out but by prayer. Pray[g] for Jerusalem, and your prayer shall cause the hills to bring forth peace; peace shall distill and come downe like the raine upon the mowen grass, and as the showers that water the earth. Wee have used all other meanes, and behold wee are frustrate, wee have laboured in vaine. In *disputations*, whether it be because men are ashamed to acknowledge their errors before manie witnesses, or because extemporalitie doth exclude mature and ripe advise, without which the truth cannot soundly and thoroughly be demonstrated, or because the fervour of contention doth soe disturb men's understanding, that they cannot sincerely and effectually judge: in *books* and *sermons*, whether it be, because wee doe speak and

[d] Job, chap. 13. ver. 7.
[e] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 7.
[f] Job, chap. 40. ver. 4.
[g] Psal. 72 ver. 3, 6.

write with too littlc advise, or because you doc hcar and read with too much prejudicc, in *all humane means* which have hitherto been used to procure peace; whether it be because our dealings have been too feeble, or the minds of men with whomc wee have dealt too implacable, or whatsoever the cause or causes have beene, for as much as wec see that as yet wee fail in our desires, yea the wayes which wee take to be most likelie to make peace doe but move strife; O that we would now hold our tongues, leave contending with *men*, and have our talk and treatie of peace with *God*. Wee have spoken and written enough for peace; there is now no way left but this one, "Pray[h] for the peace of Jerusalem."

[h] Psal. 122. ver. 6.

SERMON I.

MATT. CHAP. XXVII. VER. 46.

My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?

THERE is a derelietion of probation and reprobation, of utter refuseal, and a dereliction of triall onely. That of refuseall toueheth the highest power of the soul, and the everlasting eondition thereof. It is when God in his just displeasure denieth the grace of his saving mercy, and that for ever, unto such as have made themselves vessels incapable of his goodness in that kind. As touehing this dereliction, they which are born of him he doth not in that sense forsake. They have, to the eontrary, his own most sweet and eomfortable promises. "For[a] a moment in anger I hid my face from thee for a little season, but with everlasting merey have had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. The mountains shall remove, and the hills shall fall down, but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saieth the Lord that hath compassion on thee." "I[b] will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will never turn away from doing them good: I will put my fear in their hearts, and they shall not depart from me." "He[c] loved his own which were in the world, yea, he loved them to the end." "No[d] man shall take them out of my hands."

[a] Esai, chap. 54. ver. 8, 10.
[b] Jerm. chap. 32.
[c] John, chap. 13.
[d] John, chap. 10.

"The[e] seed of God remayneth in them," and "that seed[f] is incorruptible."

Touching the other, no sonne of God, exempt from it. That Sonne of whome he hath testifyed with thundring voice from heaven, "This is my well beloved in whome I am well pleased," the Sonne in whome I have joy and delight. This very Sonne he wrappeth in the state of that other kind of dereliction, which leaveth in part and for a time, but for ever and in whole rejecteth not.

The subject of which dereliction in Christ was his humane nature only, and his humane nature only so far forth as concerneth the bodie, and of the soul that part wherein passions and affections doe reside. For concerning the intellectuall parte of the soul, that part wherin dwelleth reason, judgement, and the apprehension of truth, the light of the countenance of God therein shining could not possibly be put out. The strong sinewes of that speech wherin he seemeth as it were even to hold God clasped with indissoluble armes, *My God, My God;* the force and vigour of this speech cleerlye manifesteth God abiding in the fortresse, the top and turret of the soul of Christ.

When God left the body of Job for Satan to work upon, it was with this exception: "*Lo; he is in thy hand, but save his life.*" No such exception when the body of our Lord and Saviour was left as an anvile to be beaten upon with the violent hands of misereants, the impes of Satan. Wherefore all his senses they loaded with whatsoever wit and malice could invent. His eyes they wounded with the spectacle of their scornful lookes, his eares with the sound of their heinous blasphemies, the spirits of his vitall breath with the noisome savour of the dead, his tast with gall, and his feeling throughout all parts with such dilamation [sic] and torture as buffets, thornes, whippes, nailes, and the dint of the spear could breed, till his soul at the length as a bird was chased out. So that as touching corporall derelietion, how trulye might the Sonne of man have uttred those words in the dolefull cantiele of Jeremy, "All ye

[e] 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 9. [f] 1 Peter, chap. 1. ver. 23.

that passe by and behold, see if ever there were sorrow like unto my sorrow wherewith the hand of the Lord hath afflicted me[g]."

Touching the inferiour part of the soul, the part where fancy and affection dwell, the part which is subject unto fear and unto heaviness; if this part, but only approaching and drawing neer to that furnace which now it was in, felt sufficient to turne sweat into drops of blood, sufficient to cause a thrise repeated supplication to be dispensed with, if there were any possible way to escape from it; what his feeling was at this present hower when he cryed, "*Sabactani: Thou hast forsaken me;*" what man is able to imagin? Our conceipt in this case is too short to reach the bottom of that we speake of. Neither may we think that Satan, who before was so vigilant to take occasions of assalting him, did here leave his soule unbesett with legions of most grisely terrors and fears. Heretofore Angels were sent from heaven to comfort him, neither God, nor Angel, nor man to ease his heavines with the comfort of their presence at this howre; but between the passionate powers of his soule and whatsoever might refresh them a courtain drawn. O thou afflicted and tossed with tempest, whome doth not this thy mournfull complaint of dereliction cause even almost to feel that thy soul was become now as a scorched heath where no one drop of the moisture of sensible joy was left? But I do foolishly to labour in explicating that which is not explicable, that whereof our fittest esteeme is our very astonished silence.

[g] Lam. chap. 1, ver. 12.

SERMON II.

HEBR. CHAP. II. VER. 14, 15.

That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil; and deliver them which for fear of death were all their life time subject to bondage.

GOD gave his people, the Jewes, a law, which law is set down in the 25th of Leviticus, that at the ende of every seven times seven yeares, which rise in all unto nine-and-fourty, the yeare next following, which was the fiftith, should be a yeare of jubily unto them, which yeare had these two peculiar pre-eminences, first the free restitution of all men into such lands as, being their ancient inheritance, need had caused them before to part with; secondly, the full release of all men whom debt or bondage did make obnoxious unto others. Men deprived of freedome, bereaved of hereditary goods and possessions, laid in bonds, inclosed in dungeons and prisons, were all at this time set free; they were all in this yeare of jubily restored unto the state of perfect liberty, so that no man might chalenge or charge them for any thing past, which jubilyes were types and figures of a jubily that was to come.

The angel Gabriel, in the ninth of Daniel's propheey, reckoneth from the time of the edict of Cyrus concerning the Jewes' returne home (which edict was published in a yeare of jubily), gathereth by computation from that time to the time of our Saviour Christ, as amounting unto seventy septimaines of yeares, which yeares contained ten jubilyes.

This was the tenth which God had sett, and the same expiring had purposed "to finish transgression, to bring an end unto sinne, to extinguish iniquity, to induce everlasting righteousnesse, to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoynt the most holy." After he addeth that the Messias should then be slain ואין לו and "not for himselfe." If not for himselfe, for whome? The prophet Esay doth show for whome: "Surely OUR infirmity he hath born, and carried OUR sorrowes: he was wounded for OUR transgressions; he was broken for OUR iniquities; for the transgression of MY PEOPLE was he plagued[a]." His death was the price of our redemption; the dayes of his sorrowe have brought unto us the joyes of a jubily that hath no end; the benefit of perfect deliverance from thraldome, and restitution unto that inheritance which Satan *beguiled* our parents of. So that of bondemen we are made free by redemption, and of free men through adoption, *Sonnes*, coinheritours with our Redeemer, to whom let the tongues of men and angels for ever sound out that blessed hymne, framed even for this selfe-same purpose, "Praise, and honour, and glory, and power to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for evermore[b]."

Thus you see the reason wherefore both Christ and his Apostles, to express the fruits of his death and passion, do speake so much sometime concerning matter of inheritance, sometime concerning deliverance out of thraldome. Our Saviour, to draw the Jewes to the due consideration of this kind of servitude, and from delivery from the same beginning to preach in a yeare of jubily, taught directlye that the ancient propheceyes which speake of an acceptable yeare of the Lord, a principall jubily wherein deliverance to captives should be proclaimed, now then came to the time of accomplishment[c]. They took it hardly at his hands to have their dignitye so much abaited as to be termed servants, and men which did need deliverance. "We are Abraham's seed, and were never bondmen to any." Wherefore speakest thou to us of freedome." "He that committeth sinne is

[a] Esai. chap. 53. [b] Apocal. chap. 5. [c] Luc. chap. 4.

the servant of sinne." Behold a servitude from which none but the Sonne can deliver you. He it is that must "make you free[d]."

Now, of all the works miraculous that have been since the first foundation of the world, there is not that can be compared unto this which our Lord and Saviour hath done by bringing to pass by death, that he who hath even a soverainty of death should be frustrated, and his main endeavour tending unto destruction made of none effect. The sequence whereof is that which followeth in the next verse, namely, the deliverance of them, whosoever "with fear of death throughout their whole life time were the detainers of servitude." So that, 1. after the mean by which Christ hath defeated Satan; 2. the second thing which we are to observe is the benefit of deliverance thereupon ensuing; 3. the third, the number of men unto whome that benefit may reach; 4. the fourth, their thraldome whome Christ did dy to sett at liberty; 5. the fifth, their feare of death to come; 6. the last, the continuance of their feare, reaching throughout the whole limits of their lives.

I. The very center of Christian belicfe, the life and soul of the Gospell of Christ, doth rest in this, that by ignominye honour and glory is obtained; power vanquished by imbecillity, and by death salvation purchased. That there should a Messias come, and that he at his coming should save and redeeme the world, none of the Jewes did ever doubt. It hath bene alwaies, and at this day even, an article in their creed; ישלח בקץ ימים משיחנו *God in the end of the dayes appointed shall send our Messiah* to redeem them that look for the end and performance of that salvation which he shall purchase. Upon which article of the Jewish faith R. *Moses* doth thus scholy. "Whosoever he be that doubteth this point, he accuseth of falsehood the whole law, and from Moses unto Malachy even all the prophets; for they all require expressly and cleerly, that we repose our trust and confidence in that annointed." Whence then is their blindnes which are so

[d] John, chap. 8.

hardned against the Gospell of Jesus Christ? Even this and no other is the cause thereof. The Jew cannot brooke to heare of life and salvation *by the death and passion of him* that should be their Lord and Saviour. For why? Their conceipte hath ever beene that their Messias should be a monarch universall upon earth, and that by force of armes the world should be brought in subjection under him. Thus Herod conceived; and therefore the birth of our Lord did vexe, molest, and trouble him. Thus nations forrein amongst whom the fame of Jewish prophecyes was spread concerning their expected king did likewise all imagin. All this his own disciples aymed in asking the question: "Lord, when wilt thou restore again the kingdome of Israel?" These vaine aspiring requests, to sit, one at the right, and another at the left hand of Christ, those ambitious contentions who should be greatest in place about him, they all sprang from the same root. Christ was dead, raised againe, and ascended unto his Father, before the right understanding of ancient prophecyes concerning that point could take place. Till then they never imagined that *death* was the mean whereby so great things should be accomplished. In this respect it is that the apostle doth terme the Gospell a mystery hid since the first beginning of the world, and concealed from former ages, never opened before, but now made manifest unto the saincts of God, as God indeed did mean it[e]. Might not the Sonne of God then, having power to create and support the world, deliver his people by main strength out of Satan's hands? Could Satan have held them which the Sonne of God had but commanded him only to yeeld? What necessity of delivering them by death, whom by his bare authosity he might have delivered well without dying?

II. The fittnes of this may better appear if we referre it unto the next point, which is the benefit whereunto this act did tend, namely, Deliverance. For, 1. first, if our condition be respected in relation to the Father filled with just indignation and wrath, what way so fit to worke our reconcilement as His intercession which was highest in favour

[e] Colos. chap. 1. ver. 2.

with God? And the perfectest deliverance of the guilty by way of intercession must needs be that where honour in the highest degree and humiliation in the lowest are combined, as in the death of our Saviour they bee. *Criminosis humilitate succurritur.* Againe, 2. if we enter into the search of that which principally God did purpose to make manifest, a thousand testimonies might be alleaged to show that the very summe of the whole scope of Christ in the work of our deliverance was to display the treasures of infinit love, goodness, grace, and mercy: "Greater love there cannot be than this, when a man is content to bestow his life for his friends[f]." "My sheep I know; I give unto them eternall life: they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands," that is to say, I have delivered them. That was sufficient to expresse the benefit of our deliverance; but this not being sufficient to expresse his own inward love, he addeth further, "Behold, I lay down my life for them[g]." It is the joy of them that have bene the deliverers of others not only to make it knowne what enemyes they have overcome, but also what wounds they have taken in conflict; *ut hostilis sanguis asserat fortitudinem, proprius pietatem*, saith an ancient father: "To the end that hostile blood may serve to be an argument of courage and valour, their own a token of piety and love." The principall thing therefore which our grand deliverer would have for ever remembered, is, "that by death he has wrought our deliverance." For this cause the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist was in such form and manner instituted, that the breaking of flesh and shedding of blood, that is to say, the face of death, might most lively appear in it. For this cause the Apostle, in setting down our principall duty herein, omitteth not to speak expressly of *death* as of the very weapon whereby Christ hath wrought our deliverance. "As oft as ever ye doe this," *mortem Domini annunciatis*, ye set forth the death of your Deliverer[h].

III. Neither is that to be overpast which the Apostle doth add thirdly, concerning the largenes of this benefit

[f] John, chap. 15. [g] John, chap. 10. [h] 1 Cor. chap. 11.

which the God of our salvation hath not prepared for a few: if any be thereof deprived, the falt is their own. Let not men therefore dig the cloudes to find out secret impediments; let them not, according to the manner of infidels and heathens, stormingly impute their wretched estate unto destinie: *Fatis agimur, cedite fatis.* Let no such cogitation take place in the hart of any man; abandon it with all execration and hatred; it were even impious and diabolicall; nay, Satan himselfe shall not dare to plead it, That from deliverance through the death of Jesus Christ there ever was child of perdition excluded by maine strengthe, or that any hath bene ever withholde otherwise than by the malice of an indisposed will, averting itself from the offer of grace, and striking back the hand of the offerer even with obstinat malicious contempt. The mother of Jerusalem's desolation was this, *Noluisti*, thou wouldest not. The fatall barr which doth close the doore of the saving mercy of God is man's *wilfull contempt of grace and salvation* offered. Wherefore upon this as a sure foundation let us build. Christ hath died *to deliver all.* Let not the subtiltye of Satan beguile you with fraudulent exceptions, and drive you into such labyrinths or mazes, as the wit of man cannot enter into but with danger to loose itself. Ye have the playn expresse words of our Lord and Saviour inviting *all unto him that labour:* ye have the blessed apostle's expresse assertion that Christ by death hath defeated Satan, to the end that he might *deliver all* whosoever were detained in bondage. Urge this: God cannot denye himselfe. And himselfe doth preach deliverance by death unto all. If any therefore be not delivered, it is because they have sayd in their hearts, *Nolumus hunc;* our present pleasure shall be still our God; for such offered favours we care not; we will not him to be our deliverer. If such perish, what eye is there[1] * * * as to pity them? And if any doe perish they are such * * * * * * deliverance.

IV. Our estate before deliverance is, as the Apostle fourthly notes, a state of bondage, thraldome, and servitude.

[1] [The asterisks denote defects caused by the MS. having been torn.]

The name of a servant we know is appliable unto all such as are any way at commandment; and in this sense all are servants, and there is but one only Lord which hath power to command all. But the Apostle here doth speake of such servants as are, by reason of that estate, men most miserable, unfortunate, and wretched, which they cannot be that serve him. The lord, therefore, whom such do serve must needes be fierce, savage, and tyranicall over them. "Be not," saith the wise man, "be not as a lion in thine own house; torment not thy servants for thy phrensy, and opresse them not which are under thee[k]."

The miserie of servitude doth consist in the vileness of those labours which slaves are put unto by them whose unreasonable commandment it is not in their power to withstand. Touching the lord whom they serve who as yet are undelivered, "They (saith the Apostle) that are such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their bellies[l]." "Such we ourselves were in times past, serving lusts and divers pleasures[m]." "Ye have not obeyed from your harts the forme of doctrine whereinto ye have bene delivered; but ye were the servants of sinne[n]." "God, who is rich in mercy, hath quickened us together with Christ; by whose grace ye are saved; but in times past ye walked according to the course of this world, following the prince that ruleth in the aire, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience[o]." But how vile is the labour which these lords put their servants unto! "It is a shame (saith the Apostle) even to mention the things which in secret are done by them." The trade and course of their lives St. Peter compareth (as ye know) unto the wallowing of swine in mire; yea, that which hath much more ouglines in it, *Canis ad vomitum*, their very food is like that which the heart of man would abhor and loath to think on.

Notwithstanding most true it is that they which live in this kind of ghostly servitude, and are most irrecoverably bound with the chaines thereof, are in this unlike unto servants,

[k] Eccles. chap. 4. ver. 30. [l] Rom. chap. 16. [m] Tit. chap. 3.
[n] Rom. chap. 6 [o] Ephes. chap. 2.

they doe not feel the misery they are in, but their servitude is sweet unto them, because they see it not to be servitude. It is the care of all tyrants, to provide as much as they can, that such as are most oppressed by them may not seem to be oppressed. In kingdomes tyrannized, therefore, we see that the doores of men's lips, yea, their very lookes, are with jealousy observed, and watched, least men, by powring forth their mutuall complaints should prove to be touched somewhat deeply, each with the sense of other's misery, and in the end studye how to shake off the yoke that lyeth heavy upon them. That which tyrants in this case cannot, Satan doth bring to pass by his subtilty. Knowing, therefore, that when they which serve him do once begin to see their own servitude, it is not possible that they should continue in it (for the very knowledge thereof, breeding desire to be delivered, is even a very part of deliverance), his only care is to keepe them hoodwinkt, and to nourish that phrensy in them, whereby, being slaves, they notwithstanding think themselves the freest men in the whole world; hereby it cometh to pass that the service they are put unto they willingly discharge; sinning even with a kinde of greediness, as the Apostle speaketh. Yea, compare them with the very best and painfullest attendants that are in the courts of God, and our industry unto good things, in comparison of theirs unto evill, what is it but coldness and very sloth? Our Saviour Christ, at the time of his greatest agonie, had not one about him able to hold up his head, not one to watch with him unto prayer; no, not Peter. Only Judas, imploying himselfe in the service of Satan, passed out the whole night, and slept not. This argueth great alacrity, delight, and pleasure, which they take in the service they doe.

V. Spirituall servitude were great, although it had in it no other evill saving the present indignity of an estate so base and ignominious. But this is not all; for, beside this, the Apostle addeth that they also are in *fear*. Fear hath relation unto those evils that are to come. It is a trembling perturbation of the mind, rising from the foreconceipt

of some imminent harm which threateneth grievous annoyance, such as our nature cannot easily bear or sustain. "Ye have not received the spirit of *bondage unto fear*," saith the Apostle[p]. We are delivered that we might "serve him in holyness and righteousness without fear[q]." The difference between the bond and free doth stand in this; that what things are most dreadfull, they are to the ransomed of Christ past; but unto the undelivered the worst is ever more that which remaineth and is yet to come. "He that believeth in the Son of God, *transivit*, he hath passed from death to life[r]." Dead we *were* in sinnes and trespasses; we *were* by nature the children of wrath as well as others[s]. Miseries *escaped* are not miseries, but serve only as matter of comfort unto us, and of thankfulness unto Him by whose mercy we have escaped them. Concerning servants, howsoever they seem to flourish for a time, and are not only accompted of others, but do also even think themselves to be * * * nevertheless, at their *end* they mourn[t]. I beheld, saith the Prophet, them that * * * bellies, proud, violent, licentious men, and, lo! they prospered. But *novissima eo*[*rum*] * * * which * * * doth not make them so happy, as they are wretched in regard * * * * * * * * lives.

VI. Not that the Apostle who thus speaketh was so raw and unacquainted with their estate as to think that from the first hour of their birth to the very last they are in the case that *Balthasar* was, as long as the finger of God was writing the sentence of heavy judgement against him, even directly before his eyes. Is not the commoner disease amongst them security, rather as if they were in a strong covenant with all things dreadful, and as if the evils which they are threatened with were but addle and empty words. The Apostle's meaning, therefore, cannot be that their whole life is, as it were, a continuall fever, there * * * perpetuall trembling, but his words are directed to such as know the portion * * * prepared for the bond slaves of sinne

[p] Rom. chap. 8.
[q] Luc. chap. 1.
[r] John, chap. 5.
[s] Ephes. chap. 2.
[t] Prov. chap. 5.

and Satan in the world to come. And because they know it, therefore to them it is evident that as many as heere live in that estate, the tenure of their lives is nothing else but a daily approaching neerer and neerer unto that heavey power, the eonsequents whereof they have most just cause to feare, how little soever they heere seeme to be therewith touched. By *fear*, therefore, we are in this place to understand danger of falling into that which is justly to be feared, whether we do actually stand thereof in fear or no.

As long as we live in the miserable state of ghostly servitude, in which state we do live until sueh time as that word of promise (which is the power of God to salvation unto all that truly and hartily embrace it), that acceptable message whieh bringeth tidings of grace, mercy, pardon, peaee, and reeoneiliation; until such time as that truth which only hath foree to work liberty and freedome of spirit (as our Saviour in the Gospell witnesseth), until this have made us free, impossible it is that we should ever draw free breath in as much as we are every moment of our lives in hazzard of death. And a fearfull thing it is for man to lye fast bound with the chaines of this kind of thraldome.

Death eonsidered in itself is by the Apostle termed an *enemy*. "He must raigne till he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy of all that shall be destroyed is death"[u]. Now, beeause death hath as yet the upper hand of all flesh against whieh it striveth, therefore eonflict with death naturally is feared; and they that speak of it aceording unto the meere sense and feeling of nature ean no otherwise determine than he doth who saith of death that it is *omnium terribilium maxime terribile*. Which naturall horror of death is many wayes also inereased; "O death," saith the wise man, "how bitter is the mentioning of thy name unto a man that liveth at rest, unto him that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things?" Yea, there are even good and vertuous desires of doing good in this present world, which may make men (as it did Ezechias) the more

[u] 1 Cor. chap. 15. ver. 25, 26.

unwilling to leave the world, and so consequently the more afraid of death. But whose death doth give speedy entrance into the state of a second endlesse dying, they of all other have the greatest and the justest cause to fear death, although many times they least fear it.

As there are many accidents that aggravate, so likewise many meanes there are that abate the feare of death: which sometimes is extinguished by a bad and impious disposition of the mind; as in desperate godless persons, who care as little what they suffer as what they doe. Again, how acceptable is thy judgement, O death, unto him that despaireth and hath lost patience! These are violent smotherings of fear, which can no way rightly be conquered but by strength of infallible reason. Wherewith even they who never tasted of the joyes of the world to come have notwithstanding so far prevailed as to cause the will contentedly to yielde when *nature*, joifully when *duty*, seemed to require the suffering of death. The chiefe motives that made the heathens themselves so resolute many times to dye were for the most part no other than such as that of Seneca; with death infinite troubles and molestations are ended; *at naturale est mali sui fine gaudere.* And such as that of Aristotle; as birth, so death is beneficial unto the state of the whole world. Birth doth stop death, and death doth ease birth. No reason, therefore, but that we should be contented to give place unto others by death, as by birth we have succeeded others dead.

But the weapons, wherewith we must strike back the naturall terrors of death, are, first the consideration of that submission which we ow to the will of God, at whose commandment our readiness to dye doth show that indeed we are called out as sonnes, and not as servants drawn from the stage of this present life. "Fear not the judgment of death (saith the wise man); for this is the ordinance of the Lord over all flesh, and why wouldest thou be against the pleasure of the most High[x]?" If hereunto all respects naturall ought to give place, how much more if further those

[x] Ecclesiastic. chap. 41.

joyes be also considered, in regard whereof even Balaam who perhaps never had them, wished notwithstanding, "O, that I might dye the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like theirs." Sonnes take possession of their inheritance always with joye. They who lived as sonnes, being dead, are as heyres blessed. The labours which heer they did suffer are ceased; the evill they did is buried, and their works of righteousness follow them. Their soules are safe in the hands of God, and not so much as their bodies lost, but laid up for them.

SERMON III.

PROV. CHAP. III. VER. 9, 10.

"Honor the Lord with thy substance, and with the first fruits of all thine increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine."

UNTO the precept of honouring the Lord with our riches and the chiefest of our * * * there is by Salomon annexed a promise, that by this means we shall increase in our * * * the thing which we seeme in our service to diminish. "Honour the Lord, etc. So shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall break with store of sweet wine." Wherein we are *first* to consider what coherence there is between this promise and that duty whereunto it is annexed; *Secondly*, the special assurance thereof given unto every man particularly; *Thirdly*, the kinds of riches which Salomon here doth mention; *Fourthly*, the measure which he promiseth that they shall be bestowed in; *Fifthly*, how this may be shewed in the particular parts of the former duty performed.

Shall we make our bellyes, then, the end wherefore we serve God? No. But the cares of this world are the greatest lets that withold our minds from aspiring unto heavenly things. Therefore this promise is made to assure us that we shall better this way supply our wants than any: that God will not suffer his to be the worse provided for, because they bestow themselves in his service. The only thing that cooleth men's zeal and affection toward the duty before re-

quired is a close and secret reply. Thus we are taught to doe; but when we have by such means diminisht our substance, where shall we have to supply the wants and manifold necessaries of this life? Whereunto in this place answear is made that the purpose of God in exacting this service is not to empoverish, but to enrich thereby his servants. It shall be a ready way to multiply and increase their store of all things.

Not that our service doth merit or deserve any such thing at the hands of God. *Deo hoc majora debemus quod ab eo cuncta percepimus; et hoc respondere beneficiis illius minime possumus, quod ei etiam si quod debemus reddere cupiamus, tamen de suo reddimus.* The things we owe unto God are in this respect so much the greater for that of him we receive all things, and are therefore the less able to answer his benefits, because, though we covet to render unto him whatsoever we owe, yet we pay him nothing but out of his own. That God, therefore, doth thus reward his servants it comes not by the worthiness of their service, but from his goodness whom they serve.

By the rich and unspeakable wisdome of his providence so the world and things therin are disposed in relation unto man, that he serving God all other things should serve him, each in their several degree and order, contrarywise his swarving aside from his service should distemper the world unto him; and whereas his godliness had the promises both of this life and the life to come, his contempt of God should change both the one and the other into the contrary fruits of accursedness and malediction. So that this we may set down as a grounded axiom, that man, degenerating and transgressing the duty which his nature standeth bound unto, he loseth the benefit which things in the world working according to their natures might otherwise have yielded unto him, and now do not, God restraining their force in such sort, that eyther they doe not at all or doe not so easily answear his desires and supply the wants of his nature. That God doth in this sort, and even in this respect, enlarge or restraine the forces and powers of things naturall needeth rather meditation than proof. All those Scriptures doe wit-

ness it wherein famin is threatened unto the children of men; all their examples make it manifest; by whose repentance and prayer such evils have been removed; that very heathen, by making supplications unto God in such their sundry necessities have acknowledged it.

II. Not to stay longer, therefore, in opening unto you the coherence between this promise and the forerehearsed duty, the next thing we have to consider is the speciall assurance therof given unto every man particularly. "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and thy barne shall with plenty be replenished, thy presses shall break with new wine." In the promise which God maketh unto his people in the second of Ose: "I will hear the heavens, and the heavens shall hear the earth, and the earth shall hear the corn, wine, and oyle, and they shall hear Israel." If there were only this implyed, that for the people whom God hath chosen a generall provision there shall be made, so that the country they dwell in shall yeeld sufficient for them, but as for any man's estate in particular he doth not regard it, this would be but a poore comfort, a slender encouragement, and God should less respect his family, which is the world, than the children of men do theirs, whose eare extendeth even in particular unto the meanest creature's estate that doth them service. "A just man," saith Solomon, "is not careless, no, not of the beast that laboureth for him." For this cause the Spirit doth single every man out by himself; for this cause we are, as it were, spoken to one by one, that no man might doubt to reap the fruit of his righteous service even with his very own hands. As on the contrary side, the other unto whom God threateneth * * *

[Ends imperfectly.]

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6. *Gotteschalci et Prædestinatianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia*, Dublin, 1631, account of, i. 123–129; traduced by Mauguin, i. 128; reprinted in Works, iv., pp. 1–233.
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8. *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Duhlin, 1632, account of, i. 143–146; a copy of, revised by Ussher and Bedell, i. 146; reprinted from amended copy in Works, iv., pp. 383–572.

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11. *Disquisition touching the Asia properly so called*, printed 1641, account of, i. 225; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 1–39.

12. *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, printed 1641, account of, i. 225; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 41–71.

13. *Judgment of Dr. Rainoldes touching the Original of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity, by James Ussher*, 1641; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 73–85.

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16. *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico Vetere*, London, 1647, account of, i. 250; the Oxford engraving of Ussher prefixed to, i. 236; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 297–342.

17. *De Macedonum et Asianorum anno Solari Dissertatio*, 1648, account of, i. 253; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 343–436.

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18. *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, London, 1650, account of, i. 266; second part published in 1654, i. 266; work not completed, i. 266; author corrects an error in, xvi. 185; portion of, written in 1653, x. 495; reprinted in Works, vols. viii., ix., xx.; *Annalium Pars Posterior*, Works, xi., pp. 1–175.

19. *Epistola ad Ludovicum Capellum de Variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus*, 1652, account of, i. 267; reprinted by author, i. 267; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 587–609.

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21. *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum Versione Syntagma*, 1655, account of, i. 268–270; two ancient copies of the book of Esther, his letter to Capellus, and William Eyre's letter to him, written in 1607, are annexed, i. 267; last work published by Ussher, i. 271; reprinted in Works, vii., pp. 437–622.

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2. *Original of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon Lands*, written in 1609, printed in Vallancey's Collectanea, i. 28; account of, i. 28; reprinted in Works, xi., pp. 419–445.

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14. *Letter to Dr. Twiss concerning the Sabbath*, published by Dr. Bernard, i. 304; reprinted in Works, xii., pp. 573–586; parts of other Letters on the Sabbath, printed in Works, xii., pp. 587–595.

15. *Sermons*, Eighteen preached in Oxford, 1640, written from his mouth, printed, Oxford, 1660; i. 314; reprinted in Works, xiii., pp. 1–296; the Seal of Salvation in two Sermons, Works, xiii., pp. 297–334; two Sermons preached before the king, Works, xiii., pp. 335–364; MS. volume in Balliol College, containing thirty-six sermons, i. 314; fifteen now first printed, i. 315; in Works, xiii., pp. 365–606; other collections, i. 284, 315.

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